1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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with the exception of the eastern shore of Green Bay and the Fox River. At the same time they have been discovered in fairly large numbers in the counties of Sheboygan, Ozaukee, Washington, Waukesha, Racine, and Kenosha, which, as far as our historical information extends, had never been occupied by the Winnebago. Flint arrow points and pottery sherds are found throughout the entire State. The distribution of copper implements has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but the present status of our knowledge has been ably discussed by Charles E. Brown.[1] To judge from the papers of Brown, implements of copper are found pretty generally distributed over the State, although certain objects seem to be found in greater abundance in some places than in others.

There are three types of mounds in Wisconsin and the territory immediately adjacent to it—the effigy, the linear, and the intaglio. All of these have been subjected to a variety of explanations at the hands of archeologists, from Lapham's time to our own. The cardinal error in all their attempts at explanation has perhaps been the assumption that the mounds were necessarily of great antiquity. For a long time it was not considered likely that the present inhabitants of the region, the Winnebago or their ancestors, had had anything to do with their erection. As soon, however, as systematic inquiries had been made among living Winnebago it was discovered that not only were they able to give more or less reasonable explanations of the uses of most of the mounds, but a number of the older people claimed to have distinct recollections of the erection of some of them. In obtaining notes on social organization the writer was told incidentally that it had been customary not very long ago to erect near the habitation of each clan an effigy of their clan animal. Subsequently, upon a more systematic inquiry, it was discovered that not only were such effigy mounds erected near clan habitations, but also on every plantation owned by a certain clan. In other words, these effigy mounds were, to all intents and purposes, property marks. Similar effigies are found in the porcupine quillwork, on the war bundles, and on the woven bags still used by the Winnebago in Wisconsin. This interpretation has been so fully corroborated that there can no longer be any possible doubt about it. The age of the mounds thus diminishes considerably. Of course some may have been erected long ago, but it is quite evident that the effigy mounds found near the Mississippi must have been erected during the eighteenth century, as the Winnebago did not reach this region before that time.

In connection with the effigy mounds two things need explanation—namely, why there are no mounds of this type near Red Banks, Green Bay, and why there are so many directly south of this region along

[1] "The Native Copper Implements of Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2; and "The Native Copper Ornaments of Wisconsin," ibid., vol. 3, no. 3, 1904.

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Names of the principal trees, etc.

ᴛᴇᴛᴇᴡᴇᴋ'ᴇ'ᴡᴀ, resin-weed.	ᴘᴇ' ᴅᴊᴀ'ɢᴜ, hickory.
ᴇᴇ'ᴋᴊᴘ, moss.	ᴛᴇᴇᴢᴇ'ʜᴇ, butternut.
ᴡᴀᴛ ᴄᴜᴛᴄ, cedar (red cedar).	ᴍᴇ' ᴇ'ᴇᴋ', maple.
ᴛᴇᴇɪʀᴇ'ᴇᴇ, basswood.	ᴛᴇᴛᴊ, willow.
ᴡɪᴛʀɪ, flat cornered reed used for lodges.	ᴛᴇᴋ, ash.
ᴇᴇ, round reed used for mats.	ᴛᴇᴇɢᴊ'ɢᴜ, oak.
ʜɪ'ᴛᴊᴘ', basswood.	ᴍᴇᴀᴋ'ᴇ'ᴇᴋ, elm.
ᴡᴀᴢɪ, pine in general.	ʜᴏᴋᴏᴊɢᴜ, hazel.
ᴡᴀᴢɪ ᴘᴇᴇᴇ, white cedar.	ᴍᴇ' ᴘ'ᴀ'ɢᴜ, cherry.
ᴡᴀ'ᴊᴜ', poplar.	ᴍᴇ' ʜᴇ'ᴇɢᴇ', ben-chief.
ᴛᴇᴇ' ᴛᴇ'ᴡᴀ, birch.	ʜᴇᴊᴜ', cottonwood.
ᴛᴇᴀɢᴜ, walnut.	

Names of the principal vegetables and fruits

ᴛᴇᴇᴇ'ʜᴏᴇɴ, a water root.	ʜᴀᴇᴅᴊᴏᴋ', strawberry.
ᴡᴏᴋᴇ'ɢᴏᴇɴ, root called "earl" root.	ʜᴀᴘ'ᴀ'ᴛᴀᴘ'ᴜᴀᴀɢᴜ, gooseberry.
ʜᴇ'ᴇ'ᴋʜɪ'ᴅᴊᴀ, pea vine.	ʜᴏᴛᴇᴇᴋᴊ', cranberry.
ᴅᴇᴇᴀ, a sort of artichoke.	ᴋ'ᴀ'ᴇ'ᴄ ʜɪ'ᴇᴀᴋ, pear-bee (fuzzy plums).
ᴘᴇ'ᴋᴀɪ, root found in lowlands.	ʜᴇᴇ ᴄᴀᴇᴇᴄ, apple (long and round apple).
ᴛᴇ'ᴘ'ᴀᴋ, chokecherries.	ᴡᴀᴋ'ᴀ'ᴇᴇᴛʀᴏᴡᴀ, wild currant (snake's navel).
ᴋ'ᴀ'ᴇᴄ, plum.	ᴅᴏᴋᴊ'ᴡᴏʜɪ, prairie turnip.
ʜᴇᴇ' crabapple.	ʜᴜ'ᴀ'ɢᴋ, bean.
ᴛᴇᴇᴀ'ᴇ'ᴇᴀ', fruit of a tree similar to crab-apple tree.	ʜᴜ'ᴇᴀɢᴋ' ᴛᴀ'ᴅɪ, climbing bean.
ʜᴏᴢᴊ'ᴇᴀᴛʀɢᴊ, raspberry.	ʜᴜ'ᴀ'ɢᴋ' ᴍɪɴᴋ, snow-climbing bean.
ʜᴏᴏᴅᴊ'ᴍᴀɢʜᴇᴇᴛ, blackberry.	ᴍᴀ'ʜɪ'ᴇᴄ, milkweed.
ʜᴏᴅɪᴀᴇᴋ', blueberries.	

Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten

ᴡᴏᴀʜᴇᴇᴋ, dogfish.	ᴡᴇᴀᴀᴇ, weasel.
ᴅᴊᴀᴅᴊᴏ'ɢʜᴀ'ᴋ, mink.	ᴍᴀʀᴛᴇɴ, marten.
ᴅᴇᴇᴇ'ᴀᴀ'ᴋ, otter.	ᴀᴏ ᴇɴᴛʀᴀɪʟ (ᴀ'ᴅᴊᴏᴇᴊᴏ).
ʜᴏ ᴡᴀʜ'ᴀ', eel (holy fish).	ɢᴏᴘʜᴇʀ, gopher.
ʜ'ᴀʏɪ, crow (really northern raven).	ʜᴏʀꜱᴇ, horse.
ᴛᴇᴀᴇᴇ'ᴘ, eagle.	

Agriculture.—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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614 825 776 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [#23] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 825 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct [124 174] questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.